EDUCATED DEMOCRACY.

The Speech which will be found below was de livered nearly a twelvemonth ago by the Hon. CHAS. J. INGERSOLL,* of Philadelphia. Finding sentiments so liberal and conservative in many respects, and heightened in interest by the ability of the author, though mixed up with some eccentricities, we conceived that it would be not an unfitting pendant to a brief discussion which our readers may remember under the caption of "The Democracy and Education," originating in certain exceptionable views broached in the Inaugural Address of Gov. ANDREW JOHNSON, of Tennessee, and we laid it aside for a season until we might find convenient space for it. But other matters diverted our view from it until a few days ago, when it presented itself anew. Thinking that it might yet amuse, if not instruct, some of our readers, we avail our-

Some of the remarks of Mr. INGERSOLL, it is Some of the remarks of Mr. Ingersoll, it is braves to soldiers, the skilfullest artisans, with books and proper for us to say, are sufficiently piquant and bowie knives, revolvers and rifles, weapons brandished awakening; more so perhaps than we should have dared to plunge into ourselves. But he has been distinguished in the Democratic faith, in and out of Congress; and very clear it is, at least, that he is no advocate for ignorant Democracy. This might paturally have been expected, for the country has had long knowledge of his scholarship and attainments; and all must own that he invokes high Democratic authority from the past days of our Republic for the stand he takes in behalf of talents and education as the requisites and adornments of republican statesmen, and that he regards neither accomplished manners nor Shakspeare's hints about dress as incompatible therewith. We offer no awakening; more so perhaps than we should have opinion whatever upon several of Mr. INGERSOLL'S points, but present, in justice, the whole of his remarks that they may speak for themselves. Certainly there is not a particle of Jack-Cadeism in them, whatever other characteristics they may possess.

ADDRESS OF THE HON. CHARLES J. INGERSOLL

Within the recollection of many here present, assertion of American approximation to European standards, political, moral, religious, scientific, or literary, was so repudiated there as to be discredited here. In less than one lifetime American spontaneous development, without forcing, has convinced the old kingdoms that this young republic is at least formidable and becoming civilized. Flattered by that transatlantic acknowledgment, which hitherto has been always more impressive than indigenous self-complacency, our vanity will now hardly bear the truth, but takes umbrage if not adulated.

Yet I shall submit, gentlemen, as we ought to be able to be admonished without irritation, some reflections, familiar, desultory, perhaps vapid, though salted with a few facts, the experience of an old and ardent vindicator American politics, letters, and society, too cordially their advocate when weak to flatter their failings when strong. Not attempting to reach the very firmament of learning, and dealing with only permanent politics, I shall not meddle with the subterranean, whose indignities, however, I agree with Bacon, are the muddy road to

Having torn up, root and branch, the ancient basis of peopular subordination, turned the social cone upside hings uppermost, the problem of democratic representa-tive Government, an American discovery, which we claim as patented by these United States, has now gone so far that it must be worked out, certainly in the new world, if not in the old. And that mighty solution is, whether such radical reform is benign advance or pernicious retrograde. Most of those speaking English, whose number will probably come to be the greatest on the globe, many speaking French, not a few Germans, and a paucity of others, believe, with nearly all of us, that it will end well. It seems to be, at all events, the manifest and inevitable destiny of a large portion of mankind; though there are many who apprehend that it will prove an over-

evernment, like all men, continually tends to evil, con-stant watchfulness is indispensable to detect, expose, and prevent abuse and decadence; the price of liberty being mal vigilance to guard against usurpations not only of

Stagnation is almost every where considered retrograde. Progress is the endeavor and boast of all the countries we admire. An eminent French royalist, Mr. Berryer, lately in their national convention, full of the best-read, if not practical, at any rate learned public men, challenged contradiction of his assertion that French monarchy has proved more progressive than French republicanism, and in great radical reforms monarchical and aristocratic Eagland has outstripped democratic America of late. Our greatest national reform, and that by mere recurremee to the first principles of our Government, the inde-pendent treasury, falls short of the vast reformation by free trade in England and the repeal of taxes equal in amount to our whole national revenue ten years ago. We hug ourselves with the mistaken self-sufficiency that we are ahead of all the rest of the world in beneficial changes. But would American ocean steam ascendancy ever have been what it is but for emulating English predecessors in that advancement? Would Congress, without British example, have enacted cheap postage, against which I con-fess I voted constantly and repeatedly? In simplification of jurisprudence, in even extension of suffrage, are we, within the last few years, the leaders or superiors of our

A foreigner of great authority, after personal examina-ion, (M. de Tocqueville,) in the thirteenth edition of his work on America, testifies that property is safer in this country than in any other, as it is because so many more persons are property-holders here than elsewhere. Still, in the want of authority to prevent and to punish licentious infringements on private property and rights, we are in an imperfect social state far inferior to better civities. The chorus to one of our national anthems, "Let independence be our boast!" is chanted as much by children and domestics and workmen as by statesmen; and the tenure by which almost every thing is held

serither good-will than authority.

There is a restless passion for change, and what is supposed reform is attractive to freemen. But it is much casier to alter than improve. Defects in government are often perceptible; attempts to amend which, instead of the perceptible; attempts to amend which, instead of the perceptible attempts to a perceptible attempts the percept often perceptible: attempts to amend which, instead or advancements, are mostly retrograde, and the fair trial of great radical reforms is injured by diverting attention to perpetual experiments of superficial changes. Results are apt to be beneficial when inveterate abuses are care-

unsexed, ill-educated, half-ciothed, and infidel American women, in riotous conventions, are continually clamoring that government will never cease to be tyrannical and intolerable till by acts of legislation women are made men. A common delusive and newspaper logic is that popular elections for every thing give more power to the people, while all see and feel that it is the vile venal aristocracy of place-hunters, whose power is increased to the infinite detriment of the people and the sovereignty. A substantive evil of perpetual attempts at political amendments is, that they prevent moral and physical, territorial and various other ameliorations, and some necessary reforms are incongruously prosecuted. No sober or sensible and various other ameliorations, and some necessary reforms are incongruously prosecuted. No sober or sensible person can well doubt that intemperance by drink, by its fearful rawages far exceeding all ancient excess in that way, calls aloud for some check. But can the mote of whiskey be expelled by the beam of tobacco? Or men scolded into sobriety by others, many of themclergymen, who live by stimulation more irrational and pernicious than drink, and its primary school for indulgence by boys smoking and chewing, which educates them to be drunkard? If, with Burke, we should not say, "let the thunders of the pulpit descend on drunkenness, I stand up for poor; that no American public men must be ards? If, with Burke, we should not say, "let the thun-ders of the pulpit descend on drunkenness, I stand up for gin," at least let us be consistent with temperance. Madness of radicalism and saism is caused by a flaw in the granite blocks from the Plymouth rock, which are the corner-stones of our free schools. The most educated without religion will not be the best educated people.

Elevate the understanding without purifying the affections of a rising generation, add the vast power of reading to the sovereign power of voting, and a great, fierce, selves of a spare column or two to give it a place.

powerful, gigantic nation may rise ingenious, enterprising, formidable, irresistible, the hardiest seamen, the in every hand, and arrogance spouting from every tongue, but all unhallowed by religious subordination, wise men

> American annals. Their three greatest commanders— Washington in the revolution, Jackson in the second war with England, and Scott in the war with Mexico—at the head of conquering armies inculcated pious reverence. Nor, let it be added in this assembly of youths, was there in the Sublime Pagan orisons of the renowned eve of Thermopyle any thing more edifying than the young Christian Lieutenant premising the most effective of our naval victories by calling men to prayers before he clear-

ed his ship for action on Lake Champlain.

If the pernicious want of early religious instruction contains the root of our school system, there are also functional infirmities to be apprehended; the pestilence of sectarianism, the contamination of local party politics, and the vulgar rapacities of jobs.

Lately, an Irish servant in a Philadelphia family, thense

rising to be a cab driver, and disappointed of further advancement to a place in the Custom House, is now a teacher in one of the Philadelphia public shools. So uncommon an instance of preferment is not mentioned to disparage either that incumbent or the institution, who, it is presumable, passed the regular examination. The teacher of ancient languages, when I was at this University, a fine scholar and admirable pedagogue, was Irish, and learned Irishmen are more common than learned Americans. But the late Hibernia schoolmaster alluded to had certainly not come from the scholastic Mecca at Plymouth rock when, from menial service, promoted to a post much better paid than any associate Judge of the educated mass must be superior to that of an uneducated Courts of Common Pleas of this State, and without liabiland, among the American masses, it is where they are ity to that precarious rotation in office which exchanges

Let me protest, too, against a common American delusion, propagated by an ill-informed press, that open career from any to every public station is exclusively and even pre-eminently an American speciality. It is no such thing. Open career is now almost universal. The English bar, church, and society teem with such distinguished upstarts. The French are solved in common sense.

Self-made men, without early education, sometimes, though by no means often, rise to great distinction, like the American monarch, or dulce facile princeps, and model of that aristocracy of mind, our fellow-townsman, Franklin. But how he cherished and patronised education and learning!

An Executive emanation has lately and the princeps are solved in common sense. lish bar, church, and society teem with such distinguished upstarts. The French army has taken dozens of
marshals and generals from the ranks, and the church its prelates. Even in Turkey every man may rise to be grand viziers; and, if I am not mistaken, Marshal Diebitch, who not long since led the Russian army to the Balkan mountains, and Prince Paskiewitch, who subdued Hungary, rose from low beginnings to be the makers of their own fortunes.

Having just mentioned the American press, it should England, where the press is almost as free as ours, and | pleasure. in other countries where not so free, is indoctrinated at

When from schools we rise to colleges, their excessive numbers and diminutive classes, the unavoidable offspring of wide-spread independent realms, depreciate diplomas, baccalaureates, masterships, and all other collegiate honors; so that it is not always certain whether
doctorate of laws is a dignity or disparagement. Such as
it is, however, it is now nearly half a century since any
Governor of Pennsylvania has had that or any other collegiate, literary, or scientific title to consideration-disfranchisement peculiar to Pennsylvania. The first six Chief Magistrates of this Commonwealth, after it became independent, were all gentlemen of education, cultivation, and superior information; and they were all Philadelphians. Among the vagaries of progress, in a free and flourishing State more populous and opulent than several of the kingdoms of Europe, one-sixth of the people, the metropolitan population, have been for nearly half a century catagood. tury ostracised by the rest; so that no resident of this metropolis or any graduate of a college has been, by any of the various parties, ever even nominated for Governor.

By the individual influence of an able and enthusiastic Executive, New York, without natural advantages over Pennsylvania to become the Empire State, is so, when Pennsylvania might have been, if De Witt Clinton had been chief magistrate here instead of there. And the example of such leaders, moreover, induces a succession of the world, will best represent good breeding and acof their emulators, instead of a dynasty of drivellers. Pennsylvania rings with daily boasts that she is the Key-stone, the backbone of the Union. A Philadelphia destone, the backbone of the Union. A Philadelphia de-mocrat of former days used more pertinently to vanut her as the wheelhorse of the confederated team, patiently following in the shafts wherever Virginia, Massachusetts, or, ultimately, New York, lead. Laudable and judicious combination of city and college ascendancy, Boston and Cambridge together gave Massachusetts two Presidents, a Vice President, several superior Secretaries of State, sometimes three foreign Ministers at the same time from the single town of Boston, and altogether eight, at different periods, from that town, to the whole State of Pennsylvania's six, four of whom four different Administra tions took from less than one and the same square in Phi ladelphia; while no President, only one Vice President, one Secretary of State, and analogous paucity of all Federal dignities, have been the lot of this self-sacrificing

sense to alter than improve. Defects in generators are defense promptly in attempts to mand which, instead and which instead with a control of advancements, are mostly retrograde, and the fair trial of advancements, are mostly retrograde, and the fair trial of advancements, are mostly retrograde, and the fair trial of the control of a control of the control of the

nable progress, that all American public men must be poor; that no American politician can be both ambi-tious and avaricious. But we have changed all that, and three dollars per diem is eagerly sought as an ample

How much ignorance has cost the State is beyond the How much ignorance has cost the State is beyond the reach of calculation; how much men, elevated by education, would have increased its resources by wise development, and prevented, by like wisdom, their abuse! The State debt of Pennsylvania is, in one respect, more onerous than the enormous national debt of Great Britain. Of the forty millions we owe twenty-three are owned in Europe; so that one million three hundred thousand dollars must be sent abroad every year out of Pennsylvania, in coin or its equivalent, whereas the interest of the British debt, mostly held at home, is satisfied by a check drawn and left in bank, without actual navgest of a cap. drawn and left in bank, without actual payment of a cent

public detriment is ascribable to want of education and disregard of well-educated public functionaries. Hence disregard of well-educated public functionaries. Hence decline of that virtue which Montesquieu signalises as the vitality of republics. That prime minister of a sovereign people, the free press, continually inculcates preference for an aristocracy, which it ennobles as self-made men, meaning men without early education, who are extelled as special favorites of a community heavily taxed to educate every body, and where every child is taught that it is disgraceful not to be educated. Yet, by most inconsistent doctrine, for youths to chop wood instead of going to school is the best rudiment for learning to chop logic, and mauling logs the rudiments of logarithms.

ogic, and mauling logs the rudiments of logarithms.

No well informed or educated man, no thinking man, indervalues the self-made eminent. Nearly all eminent nen are self-made. Still school and college heir education, however long and strenuously self-culture s pursued afterwards. The strongest sinews are not impaired for government by cultivated brains. Jefferson disqualified Jefferson for Governor of Pennsylvania that he loved science and the classics, took from the Iliad an epitaph for his lamented wife, which, in these days of reepitaph for his lamented wife, which, in these days of reform and progress, remains on her tombstone engraved in Greek, and for his own epitaph chose to be inscribed, not "Here lies the Author of the Declaration of Independence," but "Father of the University of Virginia." Both of these largely suggestive mementos are now said to be themselves buried under the rubbish of the elegant homestead he in vain dedicated to philosophical retirement and refined hospitality; enjoyments frustrated by either failure or abuse of his own delightful theories. M. Guizot considers the sixteen educated gentlemen who signed the Declaration of Independence the salt of that sacrament. And if their refinement condemned them to inequality with the other forty, a despotism was founded as well as a democracy. Let us by no means undervalue that massive good sense which distinguishes the Ameri-can mass above other people; that mother wit which, like genius, will often supply the place of learning, and indeed is sometimes better. But the common sense of an and, among the American masses, it is where they are

best educated that they excell in common sense.

Self-made men, without early education, sometimes

spondence was commanding; he was a gentleman and a lady's man. His natural son, the Governor of New Jerbe added that the British press and the French, and I sey, lived here in rich and fashionable state; and that believe the German, are all conducted by men much better educated than most of our editors. Public opinion in France, afterwards lived till he died in Paris in elegant

When the cidevant old printer, more than seventy years there are many who apprehend that it will prove an overwhelming cataclysm, or fatal conflagration, like the first
deluge, to destroy the world.

Americans. his picture with one of his kindred in this city, transfigured on innumerable sign-posts, testifies, his garb was courtly, like his manners, and like those of his successor, Jefferson, and of Jefferson's successor, Wm. Short, long well known in Philadelphia as a model of that attractive demeanor and playful ease which characterized Talleyrand, Metternich, and many more of the deepest thinkers. If I am not mistaken, Franklin was not accredited as a minister, and could not therefore appear in that highly exclusive sanctuary, the court circle. But of his dress and address, manners, habits, and charming intercourse there is plenty of traditionary and literary evidence. The conv is plenty of traditionary and literary evidence. The only historical record except the pictorial, I am aware of, of his clothes, however, is in a letter to Fox from Grenville, who, with Oswald, represented the British Government at Paris, in which letter he states Franklin's sturdily patriotic declaration not to sign the treaty of peace and independence in any other dress than that he wore While American foreign ministers, like all other men of the world, will best represent good breeding and ac-complish desirable ends by simplicity of dress and ad-dress, yet the American Government should attest its con-viction that social singularity is never useful: that its foreign ministers, even with the vis atergo of a formidable nation to uphold them, ought to be gentlemen as well as statesmen; and that men like Franklin, rather than those statesmen; and that men like Franklin, rather than those supposed to be dressed like him, will best serve this amous republic. The same attempt to reform dress was made at the outset of Jackson's Administration, and failmade at the outset of Jackson's Administration, and failed entirely. The philosophy of a court dress is not its finery, but that, like Penn's dress and that of the Quakers, it does not change with the fashions.

As this archaiology of garb comes with the authority of

After these desultory glances at functional reform, I proceed to the organic, recurring with much more gratification to the burning but vivifying sunshine of our orb, whose relative happiness, according to Jefferson's patrictic optimism, whatever there may be to regret, is so much greater than that of any other country that the American, unconscious of it, is without a constant enjoyment; for green liberty verging to excess is infinitely preferable to hoary tyranny, and progress, wild with restless reform, to putrifying stagnation. The whole world is in motion. America may methodize, but cannot prevent the movement.

vent the movement.

Our felicity is to begin untrammelled with antique hindrances, to start with traditional liberty incomparably more rational and desirable than revolutionary, and by

more rational and desirable than revolutionary, and by distance impregnably fortified; free to avoid chronic distempers of the old, yet adopt all their healthy impulses. The legitimate 'parent of national happiness, power, and dignity, mother earth is the natural nurse and guardian of the largest portion of our population. More land-lords, in proportion to other classes, than in any other country, the firmest of all bulwarks, fortify the soil, from the remote horders of varidomains to the remote horders of varidomains. the remote borders of vast domains to the gardens which surround towns. Some of their agriculture equals the most finished of Europe; and horticulture is rapidly improving, with a profusion of vegetable abundance mostly unknown elsewhere. Societies and science daily show that all the products of the earth improve as much as man by cultivation. Self-made potatoes and peaches are that all the products of the earth improve as much as man by cultivation. Self-made potatoes and peaches are very inferior to the well-brought up. Unlike the farms of some of the best-cultivated regions of Europe, where tenantries till the earth, here it enjoys for itself and its husbandry the inestimable advantage of being wrought by its owners. All around Philadelphia fine farms are managed by landlords, whose fathers and grandfathers owned the same farms before their descendants. A race of more educated and enterprising landlords, of whom there have always been many south, and others are beginning north of us, on more extensive homesteads and with more perfect cultures, superadding ingenious science to plodding experience and plentiful capital to productive abor, are beginning the establishment of farms as profitable as professions for educated men, thus uniting with the yoemanry a rural equestrian order, altogether the surest reliance for conservative freedom, individual independence, and national protection.

And what magnificent distances they master! With ample verge and room enough, from the Atlantic to the Pacific multiplying landlords, natural noblemen, with natural parks, forests, and game preserves, far surpassing those of artificial noblemen in artificial enclosures, increasing almost geometrically! All will speak one mother tongue, all inherit the same regulated freedom. Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, each nation is compacted of a heterogeneous conglomeration of conquered kingdoms, welded into political amalgamation, by which every one of them speaks languages unintelligible to other provinces of the same compulsion. On this broad in the provinces of the same compulsion.

every one of them speaks languages unintelligible to other provinces of the same compulsion. On this broad continent of ours liberty fuses dialect as it elevates mancontinent of ours liberty fuses dialect as it elevates man-hood. Therefore, the destiny of such a country to ag-grandizement is manifest, because it is natural, if not unavoidable. Short-sighted prejudice deprecates union of the whole American continent by spontaneous annexation in one entire and perfect commonwealth for free and peaceable intercourse, political, commercial, social, and kindred, such as Sully says Henry the Great proposed for all Europe two hundred years ago.

Rindred, such as Sully says Henry the Great proposed for all Europe two hundred years ago.

Not a foot of our actual confederation came by force or fraud, but every inch by fair purchase and free consent—Louisiana, Florida, Oregon, undeniably, and Texas, too, though much belied. Mexican aggression forced hostilities to subdue California, which was, moreover, paid for; and every day demonstrates that it would be above here. and every day demonstrates that it would have been much better for Mexico and for mankind if we had never relinquished what was as humanely as triumphantly sub-dued. While ever it continues the result of natural and dued. While ever it continues the result of natural and pacific influences, North American governmental extension is more natural than dispossession of the aboriginal Indian landlords of the wholesoil. Liberty, tranquillity, and prosperity, bestowed on ill-governed, benighted, discontented, and warring regions, proclaim the invariable territorial reform; and who should deprecate such pro-

One of the mightiest incentives to such annexation is that most precious and undervalued severeign privilege, never tried till by this country ventured, the right of man which endows him with universal suffrage, if not criminal or pauper. Three millions of bold sovereigns uniting, on or pauper. Three millions of bold sovereigns uniting, on the same day, thousands of miles apart, without commo-tion or molestation, in patriotic concert—and three times three, and many more, will soon unite, as one man, in one great union, in good English, (if a little tinctured at first with Irish or German, that soon melts into the mother tongue of Shakspeare, and Milton, and Locke)—to desig-nate their chief registrates. nate their chief magistrate, is a political sublimity mor magaineent than all the romantic beauties of America magaineest than all the roll of the mountains, lakes, gigantic waterfalls, and ocean rivers Disfranchised European and Asiatic masses yearn to be mixed with such an American mass. Not only the poo serf, hind, and pauper, but yeomen, artisans, tradesmen anxious to give work, skill, and wealth for popular privi lege. Though a streak of wild and disorganizing revolu-tion may be in the arriving crowd, yet the main is powerrul accretion to orderly population, without whom there would be too few with Titan-vigor to till the fields, build the cities, construct the railroads, equip and man the ships, and settle the boundless public lands of these United States.

But that multitudes of sovereigns as a nation are less given to injustice or error than single monarchs is the verdict of all history, which, for one wrong by a people is little more than a tissue of the recorded misdeeds of

individual potentates.

Within the last twenty years Great Britain, by extension of popular suffrage, has added so much to the powsion of popular suffrage, has added so much to the pow-er, wealth, happiness, and stability of that great nation that its further increase is proposed by her statesmen. Again and again within the last five years the landlord peasantry of France, patriotic conservators of law and order, peace and property, uneducated but honest land-lords, as proud of their roods of French soil as, not lords, as proud of their roods of French soil as, not prouder though richer, proprietors can be of their broad acres, their workshops, and their palaces, rebuked the flagrant frenzies of red republicanism and crushed a European outbreak of universal disorganization. The quiet and good temper of British elections were far surpassed by those of France, and obviously because all voted at the latter instead of many excluded, while illegal or any undue influences or disorders were less operagal or any undue influences or disorders were less opera-tive in France than in either Great Britain or this

country.

That our republican practices have not always realized the republican principles of their American founders is undeniable; and it may well be doubted whether As this archaiology of garb comes with the authority of State papers and personages, let us follow it for a moment from Franklin's to Washington's outward man, since to the same chief magistrate who lately ordered a reform of dress it has been objected by public journals that he drives a fine carriage, with well-dressed servants, and rides and dresses with some display. Many of those here present, and all Philadelphians sixty years old, must remember Washington's dress and equipage before reform was intolerant or progress rampant. His coach and six stately horses, with several servants in gay liveries; the court dress and small sword in which he delivered his consecrated farewell address; the simple dignity with which he resided, as some of the still extant city directories of that time register, as "George Washington, President of the United States and equipage washington, President of the United States and equipage with the authority of surviving, they would not deprecate some of the superficial progress that may endanger their fundamental reforms. The dutiful and conservative practice in politics of an exemplary personage who, though no politician, did his political duty, deserves to be commemorated for general and easy imitation. That personage, indeed, one of the earliest graduates of this University, and the general and easy imitation. That personage, indeed, one of the earliest graduates of this University, and the general and easy imitation. That personage, indeed, one of the earliest graduates of this University, and the general and easy imitation. That personage, indeed, one of the earliest graduates of this University, and the general and easy imitation. That personage is a model which rising general and easy imitation. The personage of the university and the surviving, they would not deprecate some of the super-ficial progress that may endanger their fundamental reforms. The dutiful and conservative practice in politics of an exemplary personage who, though no political duty, deserves to be commemor

Far from supposing that either the greatest or best men are city-born, American as well as other experience, and cient and modern, historically avers the contrary. But old Grecian, Roman, British, French, and other history likewise proves that cities are the hot-beds in which personal eminence is developed and matured.

The two States which have kept their seats of government where tradition established them—Virginia and Massachusetts—have always, from first to last, been the leaders of this Confederacy, had the largest agency in originating the Revolution and the Constitution, and have enjoyed the largest share of national honors and emolutioners. No one representing the metropolis of Pennsylvania at Washington can fail to feel how much more influence. Richmond and Boston have there than Philadelphia. Corruption, so deplorably imputed to Harrisburg, is rare,

to try self-government, are great strokes of immense reform and prodigious progress, a grand and brave experiment. Three of the wisest of its original essayists, Jefferson had no doubt, Hamilton had many of its success, while Washington, who vowed to make the trial, should it cost his life, had he lived to witness the prosperous and marvellous development since he bequeathed his blessing on it, must have rejoiced that, even if it goes no further, benignant miracles have been already worked for the happiness of all mankind, a bright era, to fill edifying pages of historical renown.

Although still experimental, and, as some fear, the great reforms obstructed by superficial changes, yet there is no organic retrograde. Transient excesses, restless changes, bad practices defiling good principles, faction befouling party, which is the vital element of progress: politicians supplanting statesmen; pigmies, giants, and pothouse seminaries of learning—these are fermentations to surge up from human nature. The unworthy will often rule people too happy and busy, like healthy men, to be careful of their welfare. But many if not every crisis past rallied the good and palsied the bad, and in all probability always will again.

Foreign commerce as extensive as any nation, manufactures of nearly every want, all the useful arts flourishing, the polite and elegant in rapid creation, discoveries and inventions, improved architecture, painting, statuary, and music, comforts multiplied for the needy and luxury for the rich, with their numbers greatly increased, the whole physical and social condition of these United States is a theme for neither unpleasant or unprofitable expatiation.

But, after the few cursory views submitted, all the rest

But, after the few cursory views submitted, all the rest is pretermitted to conclude with a glance at the mental element, home literature, the transparent amber in which recollection and representation of the whole are crystalliz-ed for admiration or animadversion and preservation. Of science, properly speaking, nothing need be said. Its American excellence is recognised, and now it begins to be acknowledged also that America is determined and well begun to have a literature of her own. In that greatest of all the facul ies of authority and fame with which little

of all the facul ies of authority and fame with which little Greece outshone enormous Rome, with all her conquests, and several centuries before Rome attempted any thing of the sort, America is more than beginning to have a national literature of her own.

From the commonest journalism, through every stage of periodical printing up to the highest ranges of biography and history, till we reach the empyreum of poetry, there is not a shelf without respectable American occupants; many of them known, requested, and admired in Europe. American literature exported does not yet equal foreign literature imported; but the balance is every day vibrating this way. Ton loads of American books are shipped continually from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other seaports; and, weighing quality against quantity, perhaps the odds are ours; for lots of trashy romance, and of history almost as fabulous, are exchanged for American school books, law books, medical books, and church books, of which the American editions are not and church books, of which the American editions are no and church books, of which the American cultions are not only more numerous, but often more accredited than those of Great Britain, France, Germany, or Italy. Three thou-sand volumes a day are published by a single house in Philadelphia; that is near eleven hundred thousand volumes a year. Twelve hundred thousand is the annua edition of Webster's spelling book; and of his dictionary so many that the assignees keep it a profound secret, lest their great gains should be divulged.

To appreciate American progress in literature it is necessary to compare the almost nihilty forty years ago of American books in Europe with their numbers now, and to contrast the comparative paucity even ten years ago with the present abundance at home. Immense inago with the present abundance at home. Immense increase has been constantly, immensely progressive. The catalogue of books published in England from 1816 to 1851, both inclusive, thirty-five years, contains forty-four thousand titles of works. The catalogue of books published in the United States from 1820, the first year when we can begin to count, to 1852, thirty-two years, inolusive, contains more than twenty-three thousand titles of works. Of these two per cent. are translations and twenty-eight per cent. reprints, so that seventy per cent. were American literature: and more than fourteen hard. were American literature; and more than fourteen hun-dred titles of works have been added to the American catalogue within the last twelve months.

In quantity of books, the American product has been more than two-thirds that of the English within the last thirty years.

Quality is matter of taste. American scientific, profes-Quality is matter of taste. American scientific, professional, and ecclesiastical works equal, if they do not excel, the European. Specially diffidently, because ignorantly, of poetry and romance, are there not American poets and novelists in as great vogue at present in England as any of theirs in this country? As to history, nothing but the lingering remains of colonial submission misleads us to circulate Alison's malignant absurdities concerning our institutions. or Macaulay's still more unpardonable, hownstitutions, or Macaulay's still more unpardonable, ever captivating, calumnies of Penn, Ramsey, with Stanhope Smith's continuation. Marshall's Washington, even old Robert Proud's history of Pennsylvania, are editions of reliable historical truths, though in less pleasing styles, unknown almost by name to many American readers, and to schools or colleges, but much more worthy to be accepted as classics than several recent British historians.

It is said that the American agent lately sent to Europe to procure articles from various countries there for exhibition at the New York Crystal Palace—a display adminably rigidisting the sent of the control bition at the New York Crystal Palace—a display admirably vindicating American proficiency in elegant as well as useful arts—applied for some of the old armor preserved in the Tower at London. The Foreign Secretary

Much narm, Mr. Brownson thinks, has been done by the left of the l would be too few with Titan-vigor to till the fields, build the cities, construct the railroads, equip and man the ships, and settle the boundless public lands of these United States.

Endowed with universal suffrage, when has that privilege disappointed those who trust it? All crowds are apt to be tumultuous, all sovereign powers prone to be arbitrary, selfish, violent, blind, deaf, and stupid. But that is human nature, not the right of man to vote. Government itself is a necessary evil, and most people consider all but their own an absurd and clumsy infliction. But that multitudes of sovereigns as a nation are less given the cities, construct the railroads, equip and man the denotes an English gentleman, bearing a classical English name, Villiers, decorated with a literary title, Clarendon. It denotes, too, the spirit of national kindness which it was superceded the contumelious estrangement, when it was superceded the contumelious estrangement it was superceded the contumelious estrangement, when it was superceded the contumelious estrangement of national kindness which has superceded the contumelious estrangement of national kindness which has superceded the contumelious estrangement, when it was superceded the contumelious estrangement of national kindness which has superceded the contumelious estrangement of national kindness which has superceded the contumelious estran from inheritance in her ancient glories, intellectual and physical. Their literature is ours too. We are partners physical. Their literature is ours too. We are partners and rivals in reverence of Shakspeare and Bacon, Milton and Locke. America, in good English, will carry English poetry, science, history, and romance, with English law and order, to regions more remote than Shakspeare's superhuman fancy ever imagined, peopled by British off-spring more numerous than Milton's sublimated verse ould solemnize. Vaster regions, brighter skies, univeral education, intenser liberty will familiarize them hundreds of millions of Americans.

Contemplation even reverent of such posterity is

ational and impressive as recollection of any ancestry. To a rightful share in the glories of the past, America peradds the delightful prospect of their enhancemen a still more glorious future, when literature and free m, science and suffrage will be every American's com

THREE NEW TERRITORIES.

The Fort Smith (Ark.) Herald says : We learn from Major DORU, United States agent, who arrived in town on Monday evening last, that he has concluded treaties with the Senecas, of Sandusky, and the mixed band of Senecas and Shawnees, and the Quapaws, three small bands of Indians residing on Grand River, three small bands of Indians residing on Grand River, immediately west of the southwest corner of Missouri and south of Kansas Territory. Major D. was appointed by the President Commissioner to negotiate treaties with these Indians, to obtain from them all of their surplus these Indians, to obtain from them all of their surplus lands, and to settle up their annuities permanently. We learn from him that the Sandusky Senecas reserve 160 acres for every soul of that band, to be located in one body, and the balance of the lands are to be surveyed by the United States Government and sold; the proceeds of which are to be paid to the Indians, after deducting the expenses of surveying and selling. They are to receive \$16,000 for their annuities, and also something for other benefits, which we do not now recollect.

The Senecas and Shawnees reserve 80 acres for each member of the tribe, for which the United States is to issue patents, and they also reserve sixteen sections to

issue patents, and they also reserve sixteen sections to be held as common property, the residue of the lands to be surveyed and sold on like terms with the Senecas;

be surveyed and sold on like terms with the Senecas; their annuities to be put into one fund and paid in four instalments. The Quapaws have made a treaty in almost every respect like the Senecas and Shawnees.

Major D. will leave in a few days to meet the Osages, on the plains, where he hopes to be able to conclude a treaty with them. He will take an escort of troops from Fort Gibson with him. We hope to shall soon hear of his making a favorable treaty with this roving tribe of prairie Indians. Their lands lie in Kansas Territory. The Cherokees also own 800,000 acres of land in this Territory, which they are anxious to dispose of to the Territory, which they are anxious to dispose of to the

The lands obtained from the three small bands mentioned above are very fertile and wal watered, and will fall in the Territory of Cherokee, and will be under the

We hope soon to have it to record that the three Indian Territories, so liberally provided for by Mr. Johnson's bill, have all been organized.

A New Kind of Democrays.—We thought that the eight Conventions in New York had exhusted the political nomenclature this side of the Rocky Mountains, and left only the Rose Water and the Boneand Sinew to be imported; but in New York they have faction styled Practical Democrats. It this means, as he ordinary import of the words would imply, men who practice what they profess, Barnum will have one of hem, "without regard to expense." Until he does we shall exercise the privilege of doubting. Solid moonshine a sweet vinegar would not deserve the name of curiosities by the side of a practical Democrat.—Providence Journal

THE RUBAL LIFE OF ENGLAND. By WILLIAM HOWITT, author of "Visits to Remarkable Places," &c. From the third London edition, corrected and revised. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Perry & McMillan, successors to A. Hart. 1854. 12mo., pp. 376.

two volumes. Philadelphia: Perry & McMillan, suecessors to A. Hart. 1854. 12mo., pp. 376.

The gifted wife of the author of these volumes has done so much to illustrate the name of Howirr and to render it familiar to the public that any literary entertainment so announced would pass current without other endorsement or recommendation. The subject is one possessing so much of interest in itself, especially to those in our country who derive their descent from the land of Milton and Shakspeare, that, in the hands of the most common writer, it would not fall to be attractive. The charm is of course greatly enhanced and the interest in it proportionately extended when treated by one so capable of doing it justice as this writer has proved himself to be.

There is perhaps no country in the world that can bear a favorable comparison with England in the comforts, conveniences, and elegancies of her "rural homes." Indeed, except the English, there is no language in which there is to be found a word equivalent in all respects to the meaning we are accustomed to attach to the simple term home. There is something in the sound of it that awakens all agreeable associations; and the epithet rural seems so peculiarly to belong to it that we may almost say the one term loses half its proper signification separated from the other. It is in the country only that homes are blessed with the full sweetness of the thousand namicless domestic pleasures and enjoyments embodied in the term. It is in those rural homes that England is so favored. It is true we find occasionally in the United States some fortunate citizen of the Anglo-Saxon descent who, through all the vicissitudes of property incident to the nature of our political institutions, has been happy enough to retain possession of the domicil in which he and his forefathers from its foundation were born, and around which successive generations have added improvements until it has been made all that wealth and taste could accomplish; but still there is wanting the one associatio

ciation which nothing can supply but the history of events long past.

The author's style is easy and agreeable, at times even poetical; and his descriptions of visits to many spots with which English authors and poets have rendered us familiar are exceedingly graphic and entertaining. The reader seems to be with him in propria persona as he wanders over Annesly Hall and gazes with him upon the lovely place of Mary Chaworth, or, crossing over to Newstead, lingers with melancholy interest amid the scenes where her gifted but ill-fated lover caught his first inspirations.

The first two or three chapters will perhaps cause the The first two or three chapters will perhaps cause the American reader to smile at the very partial amor patrix that glows in every line, but a further perusal will convince him that this partiality has not blinded the author to the many evils abounding amid all the wealth, beauty, and luxury of merry England, as he deplores with real earnestness the rapid increase of crime in her manufacturing districts and the almost brutish ignorance often found in some of her loveliest "nooks."

But it is not only the rural life of England's own fa-

vored children that the author describes. The "lowly thatched cottage" has its own peculiar though humbles oys; and even while he laments that so many of the "beautiful old customs, the hearty old customs, the poeti-cal old customs are gone," he nevertheless tells of many a village festival still enjoyed with all the ardor and fresh-ness of its first celebration.

It may be thought by some perhaps that this description of rural life in England concerns only those who are enjoying it; and yet it is certainly not without interest cumstance" of monarchical Governments; or that the exclusion of these advantages does not always secure a smaller expenditure of what is said to be the idol of Yankee hearts, the "almighty dollar."

The work will be found for sale at the bookstore of

FRANCE TAYLOR.

THE SPIRIT RAPPER; an autobiography, by O. A. BROWNSON. Boston: Published by Little, Brown & Co. One vol., pp. 402. Sold by Taylor & Maury, Washington. Mr. BROWNSON has laid before the public a work of great interest and learning. He says of it, in his preface:

"There is no fiction in it save its machinery. What
is given as fact is fact, or at least is so regarded by the
author. The facts narrated, or strictly analogous facts, I
have either seen myself or given on what I regard as

ample evidence. As it is impossible to wink this subject out of sight, as thousands upon thousands are engaged heart and soul in the hope of lifting the marble veil from the face of the Isis, it is worthy of the highest intellect to warn the unwary and unlearned of the danger to health and body, as well as the safety of the soul, attending the prosecution

of these inquiries.

Much harm, Mr. Brownson thinks, has been done by they have no reason to think that they are less intelli-

they have no reason to think that they are less intelligent or less sharp-sighted than they who abuse them as imposters or ridicule them as dupes.

He thinks the error of these people is in their explication of the phenomena, and not in asserting its reality. The true way is to concede the facts, concede even their mysterious and superhuman character, and then explain to them their principle and origin, and show them that they proceed not from good angels, even when apparently they are pure and unobjectionable.

The views taken by Mr. Brownson are those of the Rev.

Mr. Samson, of this city, in his little book entitled "To Damonion," noticed in this paper at the time of its publication, a book full of learning and timely warning.

CAPTAIN CANOT.

BALTIMORE, SEPTEMBER 30, 1854.

Gentlemen: I find in your issue of to-day a most flattering note of my biographical sketch of the "African Slaver." While awarding it more praise than it perhaps deserves for literary merit, I cannot but notice with regret that you regard it, in some degree, as a work of imagination. As I incline to think that its effective value imagination. As I incline to think that its effective value upon the opinion of society will be in proportion as it is believed to be a true picture of the slave trade and of aboriginal negro character, I must seize the earliest moment to say that, in its preparation, I have in no instance altered or embellished the facts furnished by the adventurer. Many of his enterprises, and nearly all of his descriptions of African nature, have been verified to me by the testimony of persons who knew him while in the trade on the coast or who have visited the continent of Africa within late years.

Africa within late years.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient and obliged servant,

PROGRESS OF RAILROADS .- We find the two fellowing paragraphs in the Alexandria Gazette of the 30th ultimo, indicating great energy on the part of the companies named .

Extension of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad to Lynchburg.—We understand that at the recent meeting of the President and Directors of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company the whole route of the line of extension to Lynchburg was put under contract and the construction ordered to be commenced.

Manassas Gap Railroad — We learn that the Manassas Gap Railroad will be opened to Front Royal, in Warren county, to-day. A train of cars will leave here with the President and Directors, Engineers and invited guests, this morning, to celebrate the opening of the road to the point designated.

ANOTHER CENTRAL RAILROAD .- We mentioned a few days ago that the Ohio Central Railroad was about to be connected with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The following paragraph, from the Galena (Ill.) Northwestern Gazette, shows good progress in a great road further West:

"CENTRAL RAILROAD .- The track of this road is now laid about four miles out from this city. About three bundred men are at work on the cut at Scales Mound. If hundred men are at work on the cut at Scales Mound. If favorable weather for track-laying continues for ten days the unfinished part of the road in that direction will be drawn up into close quarters. Mr. Burrall, the President of the road, in a late communication, says: I think that on the first day of January next we may expect the whole line from Cairo to Galena to be in readiness for operation by regular trains, giving us by the Chicago and Galena road a line from Chicago to Galena; by the Aurora Extension road a line from Cairo to Chicago; and by the Ohio and Mississippi road a line from St. Louis to Cairo, and St. Louis to Chicago, without intervention of steamboats, except for crossing the ferry at St. Louis. When we can go from Galena to Cairo by railroad a new era as well as a great country will be opened to our city."

Horse Exhibition and Pair for Horses will take place at Brattleboro', Vermont, on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of this month. A liberal list of premiums will be offered for fancy horses and horses of all work, including fast trotting horses, for which there will be a sweepstakes of three hundred dollars. This will be a fair opportunity for obtaining breeders of that unequalled road stock, the *Horgen* horse.